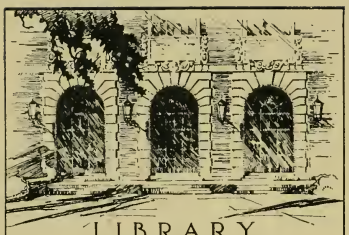

The Past History and Present Duties of the Faculty of Theology in Oxford.

TWO INAUGURAL LECTURES

READ IN

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL, OXFORD,

IN

MICHAELMAS TERM, 1878,

BY

WILLIAM INCE, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, AND CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH;
LATE SUB-RECTOR AND TUTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE.

From the Author.

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REGIUS PROFESSORS OF DIVINITY AT OXFORD.

1535 Richard Smyth, D.D., Fellow of Merton, Principal of Alban Hall.
1548 Peter Martyr, D.D., of the University of Padua, Ch. Ch.
1554 Richard Smyth, D.D., again.
1556 Joannes Fraterculus, D.D. (a Spaniard), Lincoln.
1559 Richard Smyth, D.D., again.
1560 Laurence Humphrey, B.D., Fellow, afterwards President, of Magdalen.
1589 Thomas Holland, D.D., Fellow of Balliol, Rector of Exeter.
1612 Robert Abbot, D.D., Master of Balliol, Bishop of Salisbury.
1615 John Prideaux, D.D., Rector of Exeter, Bishop of Worcester.
1642 Robert Sanderson, D.D., Fellow of Lincoln.
1648*Robert Crosse, D.D., Fellow of Lincoln.
1648*Joshua Hoyle, D.D., Master of University.
1654*John Conant, D.D., Rector of Exeter.
1660 Robert Sanderson, D.D., again; soon after Bishop of Lincoln.
1661 William Creed, D.D., Fellow of St. John's.
1663 Richard Allestree, D.D., Ch. Ch., Provost of Eton College.
1680 William Jane, D.D., Ch. Ch., Dean of Gloucester.
1707 John Potter, D.D., Fellow of Lincoln, Bishop of Oxford, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1737 George Rye, D.D., Fellow of Oriel.
1741 John Fanshaw, D.D., Student of Ch. Ch., and Regius Professor of Greek, which he resigned.
1763 Edward Bentham, D.D., Fellow of Oriel, Prebendary of Hereford.
1776 Benjamin Wheeler, D.D., Fellow of Magdalen.
1783 John Randolph, D.D., Student of Ch. Ch., Professor of Poetry, and Regius Professor of Greek, both of which he resigned; afterwards Bishop of Oxford, Bangor, London.
1807 Charles Henry Hall, D.D., Student, afterwards Dean, of Ch. Ch., Dean of Durham.
1809 William Howley, D.D., Fellow of New College, Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1813 William Van Mildert, D.D., Commoner of Queen's, Bishop of Llandaff, Dean of St. Paul's, Bishop of Durham.
1820 Frodsham Hodson, D.D., Principal of Brasenose.
1822 Charles Lloyd, D.D., Student of Ch. Ch., Bishop of Oxford.
1829 Edward Burton, D.D., Student of Ch. Ch.
1836 Renn Dickson Hampden, D.D., Principal of St. Mary Hall, Bishop of Hereford.
1848 William Jacobson, M.A., Fellow of Exeter, Vice-Principal of Magdalen Hall, Public Orator, D.D., Bishop of Chester.
1865 Robert Payne Smith, M.A., late Scholar of Pembroke, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.
1871 James Bowling Mozley, D.D., late Fellow of Magdalen, and Canon of Worcester.

* Those persons whose names are marked with an asterisk were appointed during the time of the Usurpation.

LECTURE I.

IN beginning, for the first time, a course of lectures from the Chair of Theology, to which, by the favour of the Queen, I have been called, I have thought it would not be uninteresting, by way of introduction, to take a rapid survey of the academical history of some of my most distinguished predecessors. Such a survey may throw light upon the relation in which Theology has stood to other branches of knowledge in the studies of the University; it may help us to realize that in dealing with an unchanging subject-matter there is an infinite diversity in the methods of treatment, varying with the intellectual and spiritual life of each successive generation; it may supply salutary cautions for the present, in unveiling the errors and extravagancies of the past; it may awaken attention to the necessity of adapting the kind of instruction now given to the widely-different external circumstances of University life.

The Regius Professorship of Divinity was first founded by Henry VIII. in 1535, the year after the English nation had renounced the Papal Supremacy; and re-founded in 1540, in conjunction with four new Regius Professorships, those of Hebrew, Greek, Civil Law, and Medicine, the endowment of which was first charged upon the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and subsequently, by arrangement, upon the Dean and Chapter of the King's new foundation of Christ Church. The first King's Professor of Divinity was Richard Smyth, who had been elected Fellow of Merton in 1527, Registrar of the University in 1531, Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1535. He was a man strongly addicted to the old learning, a vigorous upholder of all Papal doctrines, both in his lectures and in his published works. His moral character does not seem to have been spotless; in temper he is described by Strype as "a hot, turbulent man[a]," and the

[a] Memorials of Abp. Cranmer, ii. 7.

history of his Oxford career fully confirms that judgment. In the course of his literary life he wrote various treatises against Peter Martyr, Melanchthon, and Calvin, defending the doctrines of the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass, Works of Supererogation, Purgatory, and the co-ordinate authority of unwritten Tradition with Scripture[b]. The doctrinal, as distinct from the political Reformation, had been advancing rapidly in the Court as well as in the nation generally, during the latter years of the reign of Henry, and received an enormous impulse upon the accession of Edward VI. to the throne. Archbishop Cranmer endeavoured by persuasion and argument to bring the Oxford Regius Professor more into sympathy with the reformed doctrine, and the result was that Dr. Smyth read a public recantation at Paul's Cross on May 15, 1547, in the fourth month of the new reign, and repeated it at Oxford in the following August. One sentence of it ran as follows, "These things aforesaid, I cannot deny but they were spoken of me, and written. And as I do not now like them, so, at the example of St. Austin and other good doctors, I am not ashamed to retract them, and call them again and condemn them. For when I followed mine own invention, not directed by Scripture, I began, as the nature of man is, to wander, and at the last went clean contrary to God's Word. Wherefore I heartily exhort every man, as touching matters of faith, to found the same upon God's certain, true, and infallible Word; lest by doing the contrary, they fall into superstition, idolatry, and other manifold errors, as myself and many others have done."

Richard Smyth was deprived of his Professorship to make

[b] There is a rare book in Christ Church Library, bearing date 1546, entitled, "The Assertion and Defence of the Sacramente of the Aulter. Compyled and made by Mayster Richard Smythe, Doctour of Divinitie, and Reader of the King's Majesties lesson in his Grace's Universitie of Oxforde, dedicate unto his Highnes, beying the excellent and most worthy defendour of Christes faythe." The author describes it as "the first fructes and workes of me your Grace's most bounden bedesman and chapleine." "It appeared clerely and manifestlye my most bounden dutye (as in very dede it was and is, being your Highnes chapleine, and reader of your Grace's lesson in youre famous and renowned Universitie of Oxforde, to the which lesson by your Grace's onely goodnes I have been heretofore preferred)."

way for Peter Martyr. That celebrated and influential Reformer had been born in Florence in 1500, being the son of Stephen Vermilius, and called Peter Martyr in pursuance of a vow of his parents before his birth. In his boyhood he resolved to become a monk, and joined the Augustinians at Fiesole. He was sent to Padua, where he learned Greek, in order to be able to read and understand Aristotle. He became a public preacher when twenty-six years of age, and attracted much notice at Brescia, Rome, Bologna, Pisa, and Mantua. Whilst at Bologna he learned Hebrew under the tuition of a Jewish physician. He was made Abbot of Spoleto, and subsequently Rector of St. Peter's College at Naples. There he first began the study of the writings of some of the Reformers, Bucer, Zwingle, and Erasmus; and by frequent intercourse with a small body of devout men, who had been led by prayerful study to renounce the chief dogmas by which the Papacy had departed from primitive truth, he was gradually won over to the Reformed Faith, being in this conversion largely indebted to the influence of a Spaniard, John Valdez. He began to lecture publicly on the First Epistle to the Corinthians; but shortly went into Switzerland, and on to Strasburg, where, under the auspices of Martin Bucer, he was made Professor of Sacred Literature, an office which he held for five years. He there married Catharine Dampmartin, or Cathie, an ex-nun. He was invited to England by Cranmer, with the consent of Edward VI., and at the end of November, 1548, was nominated Regius Professor. He began his work here by lecturing on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, selecting that particular portion of the New Testament, as his biographer tells us, because he thought that many points bearing on the controversies of his own time were discussed in it; and because the teaching of that Epistle, if well and dexterously handled, would cure all the corruptions of the Church, and refute the abuses and superstitions of the Papists. Martyr's lectures were largely attended, though the Heads of Colleges, who were most of them violently opposed to the Reformed doctrines, tried to keep their men away. When the Professor arrived at the exposition of

those chapters (x. and xi.) which treat of the Lord's Supper, there was a great commotion excited. His opponents put up notices on all the church-doors in Oxford, that on a given day he was going to dispute against the presence of Christ in the Holy Supper. The Divinity School was naturally crowded both with gownsmen and townsmen on the appointed day. Peter Martyr himself knew nothing of the advertisement: it had been issued by Richard Smyth, his predecessor, Dr. Cole, Warden of New College, and Dr. Oglethorpe, President of Magdalen. On his way down to the school, he was met by Smyth's servant, bearing a challenge from his master to a dispute on that day. Martyr delivered his lecture as usual, without betraying any nervousness; a clamour was raised at the end of it by his opponents, which was only ended by the Vice-Chancellor arranging that Peter Martyr and his opponent Smyth should come with him to his own house, and there settle the place and the terms on which a public disputation should be held. Six Royal Commissioners were sent down to be assessors at this theological combat, among whom were Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Cox, Dean of Christ Church, and Chancellor of the University. Before the day of disputation arrived, Richard Smyth fled to St. Andrew's, in Scotland, and afterwards to Louvain. But his place was supplied by Dr. Tresham, a Canon of Christ Church, assisted by Chedsey and Morgan. The disputation lasted four days, beginning on May 28, 1549, and was subsequently published. Party spirit was hot, and did not refrain from open violence. Fearing assassination, Martyr retired for a time to London: on returning, his house was frequently stoned by his adversaries, and to relieve him from this danger, the King made him Canon of Christ Church [c], where he had, says his biographer, a splendid house and a pleasant garden. He was formally made a Doctor of Divinity, and was very active in the prosecution of his work. In 1550, public disputations upon theological subjects were held every alternate week, and the disputations in the King's College every week, which, inasmuch

[c] Collated October 24, 1550; installed January 20, $15\frac{5}{5}\frac{0}{1}$. Le Neve, F. ii. 517.

as all persons were freely admitted to hear them, were virtually public, were presided over by Martyr as Moderator[d]. The fierce controversies of the time did not prove favourable to any calm scientific study of Theology; and in the latter part of the reign of Edward VI., Oxford seems to have fallen into a deplorable condition[e]. "There were scarcely any resident Masters of Arts: there was not a sufficient number of Divines to perform the statutable exercises. The Divinity School was shut up. The salary of the Margaret Professor was employed in repairing the public buildings. The University sermon was preached only once a-month. The Professors seldom read lectures. The study of Greek had fallen into neglect." The death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary gave an instant check to the progress of the Reformation. The new Queen issued a proclamation against foreigners, commanding them to leave the realm within twenty-four days; Peter Martyr was forbidden to read his lectures, or to stir a foot out of Oxford. The Council, however, in a short time gave him leave to remove. He went to Lambeth and London, and finally was allowed to depart the kingdom, on the strength of his having been invited originally to England by letters under the Broad Seal of the late King. Returning to Strasburg, he was reinstated in his old place, where he died, November 12, 1562.

The story of the indignity done to his wife is well known. She had died in Oxford in 1552, and had been buried in Christ Church. By order of Cardinal Pole, when he became Chancellor of the University, her body was to be cast out from ecclesiastical sepulture; and the then Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Marshall, commanded Mrs. Martyr to be disinterred, and buried in the dunghill at his stable-door. Time brought round its revenge. Five years afterwards (January, 1561), her bones were taken up again, and mingled with the relics of St. Frideswide in the same coffin, and then re-interred, with the epitaph, "Hic jacet religio cum superstitione."

Richard Smyth returned from Louvain to Oxford as

[d] Parker Society, Original Letters, ii. 481.

[e] Hook, "Lives of Archbishops of Canterbury," viii. 379.

Regius Professor, was made Chaplain to the Queen, and Canon of Christ Church. His recantation was forgotten, and had probably all along been insincere. He was present at the burning of Ridley and Latimer opposite Balliol College, and preached the sermon on that occasion, when, with exquisite bad taste, he took for his text, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." For some reason or other he resigned in 1556, when he was succeeded by a Spanish monk, Joannes Fraterculus, or de Villa Garcia, but was restored at the very beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. When the new Queen was fully established on her throne, he was again deprived and committed to the custody of Archbishop Parker; but he contrived without much difficulty to escape, and went to Douai, where he was made first King's Professor of Divinity at the Roman College of St. Peter's, by Philip II. of Spain; and died, after three years, at the age of sixty-three. There are many conflicting opinions expressed by contemporaries as to the character and capacity of this first occupant of the Chair. Strong language, not abstaining from personality, was used by controversialists on both sides at that time. Therefore, we cannot be surprised at the titles which Smyth gave to some of his books[f]. But we certainly cannot acquit Smyth of palpable inconstancy, and a violent spirit of partisanship, which disqualified him from exercising the calm judgment and argumentative impartiality of a Professor.

The next occupant of the chair was Laurence Humphrey. He was born at Newport Pagnel, had become a Fellow of Magdalen in 1549, and was ordained in 1552. Having embraced Protestant views, he went into exile during Queen Mary's reign with many of his countrymen, residing at Zurich, where he became intimate with many, who on their return to England, having been enamoured of the simpler ceremonial of the Swiss Reformers, formed the first com-

[f] One is, "Diatribe de hominis justificatione edita Oxoniæ in Anglia, A.D. 1550. Mense Februario adversus Petrum Martyrem Vermelinum, olim Cartusianum Lucensem in Italia, nunc apostatam in Anglia Oxoniæ, acerrimum improborum dogmatum assertorem, sed imperitum et impudentem cum primis." (Louvanii, 1550.)

pany of Nonconformists in the Church of England. He was appointed to the Professorship in 1560, and elected President of Magdalen in 1562. It is recorded that in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the town of Oxford was so empty (after the Roman Catholics had left it upon the alteration of religion), that there was very seldom a sermon preached in the University Church, and what was done in that kind was sometimes by Laurence Humphrey, and sometimes by Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ Church. Humphrey had a great objection to the Vestments, whether ecclesiastical or academical, and by way of protest wore the round cap instead of the square. His nonconformity brought upon him an admonition from the Queen's Council in 1565; he subsequently conformed, and was made Dean of Gloucester in 1570, and of Winchester, 1580. He seems to have been an honest, and zealous, and religious man. Even Antony Wood, who has seldom a good word to bestow upon a Puritan, speaks well of him. His narrative gives a curious insight into the interior of the University: "Humphrey brought back with him from the city of Zurich, and the correspondence that he had at Geneva, so much of the Calvinian both in doctrine and discipline, that the best that could be said of him was, *that he was a moderate and conscientious Nonconformist.* Whence it was, that by his being many years President of Magdalen College, Public Professor of Divinity in the University, and several times Vice-Chancellor, he did not only upon advantage issuing from these places stock his college with a generation of Nonconformists, which could not be rooted out in many years after his decease, but sowed also in the Divinity School such seeds of Calvinism, and laboured to create in the younger sort such a strong hatred against the Papists, *as if nothing but divine truth were to be found in the one, and nothing but abominations seen in the other.* Howsoever it was, sure it is, that Humphrey was a great and general scholar, an able linguist, a deep Divine, and for his excellency of style, exactness of method, and substance of matter in his writings, he went beyond most of our Theologists." He appears to have

made the doctrines of Predestination, Reprobation, Final Perseverance, Effectual Call, and Particular Redemption, the chief subjects of his lectures, and adopted the Calvinistic explanation of them. It is curious for us, with our modern conceptions of the relations of parties, to read the title of one of his books, "Puritano-Papismi, seu doctrinæ Jesuiticæ confutatio" (1584).

Humphrey died in 1589 (Feb. 1), and was succeeded by Dr. Holland. Holland had been Chaplain-Fellow of Balliol, 1573, and became, in 1592, Rector of Exeter. He appears to have been a Divine of very decided views, for it is recorded that he never went any journey but he took solemn leave of his Fellows with this Benediction: "Commendo vos dilectioni Dei, odio Papatus et omnis superstitionis[g]." He is commended by A. Wood, for not having given any such countenance to the propagating of Calvin's doctrines as to make them the subject of his lectures and disputations. His character has come down to us as sketched in the funeral sermon preached by his friend Dr. Kilbie, Rector of Lincoln, at St. Mary's, March 26, 1612: "As touching his learning, such was his skill in the tongues, and his multiplicity of knowledge in all arts and sciences both divine and human, that as Baptista Mantuanus spake of Picus Mirandola, 'in uno eodemque homine videri Hieronymum et Augustinum revixisse;' so it should seem that both these learned Fathers did live in him again. He was an Apollos, mighty in the Scriptures: he was familiarly conversant amongst the Fathers, and as a Father among them: and amongst the Schoolmen 'tanquam seraphicus Doctor,' at whose mouth, as at an oracle, men might be resolved in matters of doubt. And, therefore, most worthy was he of that chief place of the Doctor of the Chair in Divinity, which he with so great applause and approbation, I had almost said *admiration*, so long (even about twenty years) bare among us. He was so much renowned for his preaching, reading, disputing, moderating, that all mouths commended him, and strangers admired him: so that his

[g] Savage's "Balliofergus," p. 113.

fame was spread abroad, and that in foreign countries as well as at home."

Holland was succeeded by Robert Abbot, first Chaplain-Fellow (1581), and then Master (1609), of Balliol. He is described as being a more moderate Calvinian than either of his two predecessors in the Divinity Chair, which he expressed by countenancing the Sublapsarian way of Predestination. An interesting account of his mode of discharging the duties of his office is found in Mr. Pattison's Life of Casaubon (p. 400), though we may be pardoned for smiling at the delicate sarcasms on University life which pervade the narrative of Casaubon's visit to Oxford. On Saturday, May 19, 1613, Casaubon was taken by his host, Sir Henry Savile, to the disputation in the Divinity School, where the Professor moderated. "He was highly satisfied both with the ability and the doctrine of the Regius Professor. His conduct of the disputation was everything that could be desired. On the critical question of faith and works, for which all ears were then highly sensitive, he entirely satisfied Casaubon's judicial mind. He took, as became his office, a moderate position, not repudiating the Calvinism of the old school, and making sufficient concession to the Arminianism of the new school. It was well known that his own habits of thought attached him to the Calvinistic side, and that he had no sympathy with the new Anglo-Catholic modes of thinking, which were rising into consideration, and were being pushed on by the younger zeal of Laud." Casaubon was so pleased with Abbot, that he put into his hands for revision six sheets of a work which he was writing in refutation of Baronius. Party spirit ran high in the University at the time, for the Vice-Chancellor, who was the Professor's brother, George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, had a few years before endeavoured to stop the young Fellow of St. John's, William Laud, from proceeding to his degree of B.D., because in his disputations he had stoutly maintained the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and the necessity of diocesan episcopacy to the existence of a Church.

Abbot held the Chair only for three years, when he was

promoted to the Bishopric of Salisbury, and subsequently wrote a strong defence of the Royal Supremacy against Bellarmine and Suarez, published in 1619. "He wrote all his sermons in Latin only, and preached them out of the Latin copy [h]."

John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter, was his successor, and was the first who enjoyed the new endowment of the Chair, which by letters patent of James I. had permanently annexed to it a Canonry at Christ Church, and the Rectory of Ewelme. John Prideaux had been a most successful tutor, the fame of his learning, ability, and judicious discipline had attracted many foreigners to his college, for whose residence he had specially erected some buildings, which were only pulled down about twenty-two years ago. Prideaux, in his theological views, was "a stout champion against Socinus and Arminius." He seems to have almost identified anti-Calvinistic views with Socinianism. It was then the custom for the Professor to give annually a public lecture at the Vespers or evening exercises the Saturday before the Act in July. Prideaux published twenty-two of these lectures, and the subjects of them shew the topics which were then uppermost in the theological world. They are such as these: "Is the absolute decree of Reprobation to be admitted? Besides the knowledge of simple understanding and vision, is a third and intermediate kind of knowledge to be laid down as belonging to God? Is grace sufficient for salvation granted to all? Of two persons endowed with equal grace, is one converted and saved, while the other resists and is lost? Does faith alone, so far as it apprehends the merits of Christ, and relies upon them, justify? Can true believers fall from grace finally or totally? Can the believer be, or ought he to be, certain about his own salvation? Can the people which have not expected a promised Messiah, nor acknowledged Him when sent, obtain salvation by the light of nature? Was the Protestant Church as distinct from the Papal, before the Lutheran Reformation, visible to the Christian world in

[h] Savage, p. 113.

every age? Does Jesuitical equivocation excuse lying or perjury? Is the Pope, rather than the Turk, to be held to be Antichrist? Are the Hebrew points of the same age as the alphabet? Are the thousand Apocalyptic years of the reign of the Saviour on earth with the saints to be expected hereafter? In things pertaining to salvation, is a discretionary judgment allowable? Is the religious invocation of departed saints idolatrous? Is the sacrifice of the Popish Mass blasphemous?" Prideaux published also thirteen speeches delivered at the Acts when Doctors were admitted, and six sermons preached according to custom at St. Mary's on Ash-Wednesday, at the beginning of the Lenten disputations. His learning was great, but his style somewhat ponderous and affected in the judgment of modern critics. He employed the Latin language, which he wrote fluently, in all his lectures [i].

The disputations and public exercises were attended by crowded audiences in his time, and he was eminently popular with the majority of the residents, for he was an unflinching advocate of the Calvinistic determination of debated questions. But this phase of doctrine was distasteful to the opposite party, which under the powerful influence of Laud was gradually making itself heard both in the University and at Court, and was rebelling against the popular theology. "So there grew up in the University an antagonism between these, called Puritans or Calvinists on the one side, and the Remonstrants, commonly called Arminians, on the other [k]." We may remember that it was while Prideaux held the Chair of Theology, that there came out the celebrated Royal Declaration prefixed to the thirty-nine Articles, which makes such marked reference to the chief controversy of the day. "In these curious points, in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of England to be for them."

[i] His strong anti-Romanist principles are attested in somewhat exaggerated language by one of the Fellows of his own College, Nathaniel Carpenter, in his "Geography delineated," published 1625. "In him the heroical wits of Jewell, Reynolds, and Hooker, as united into one, seem to triumph anew, and threaten a fatal blow to the Babylonish Hierarchy," (p. 263).

[k] A. Wood.

"In these both curious and unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, we will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them. That if any publick reader in either of our Universities, or any Head or Master of a College, or any other person respectively in either of them, shall affix any new sense to any Article, or shall publickly read, determine, or hold any publick disputation, or suffer any such to be held either way, in either the Universities or Colleges respectively: or, if any Divine in the Universities shall preach or print anything either way, other than is already established in Convocation with our Royal Assent: he, or they the offenders, shall be liable to our displeasure, and the Church's censure in our Commission Ecclesiastical, as well as any other, and we will see there shall be due execution upon them." In 1641, Prideaux was raised to the see of Worcester; but his episcopate fell on troublous times, the great civil war followed, which drove him from his see, and reduced him to great poverty. He was obliged to part with his library to procure the means of living, a misfortune quaintly described by A. Wood: "He became at length '*verus librorum helluo*,' for having first by his indefatigable studies digested his excellent library into his mind, he was after forced again to devour all his books with his teeth, turning them by a miraculous faith and patience into bread for himself and his children, to whom he left no legacy but pious poverty, God's blessing, and a father's prayers, as it appears in his last will and testament."

There followed next Robert Sanderson, perhaps on the whole the most able and distinguished of all those who have ever held the Chair. Sanderson has had the exquisite advantage of having had his life written by Izaak Walton. From it we learn that he was elected a Fellow of Lincoln in 1606, Senior Proctor in 1616, and resigned his Fellowship on being appointed to the Rectory of Boothby Pagnel in Lincolnshire in 1619. He was made Chaplain to King

Charles I. on the recommendation of Laud in 1631, in the discharge of which office he was so faithful, that the King used to say "I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly." In 1643 he was named by the Parliament one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, but he did not attend, doubting the authority of the summons. On July 21, 1642, he was nominated Regius Professor at Oxford. It was only after much persuasion and urgency on the part of the King and of many of his friends that he was induced to accept the Professorship. He was oppressed with the thought of its difficulty, amidst the distracting controversies on religion then raging; he pleaded his age, his nervousness, his long inexperience in Latin writing or speaking, on account of his seclusion in the country for so many years; his sense of inability to discharge the duties of a prominent office[l]. But he finally surrendered his wishes[m], and endeavoured to recognise in his appointment a call of Providence. He did not, however, enter upon the performance of the duties of the office till after an interval of four years. The causes of this long delay, which he has detailed in his Inaugural Lecture, present us with an extraordinary picture of the condition of England at the time. He came to Oxford on his appointment in July, and went back again to his country living, intending to pack up his furniture, write his lectures, and return to begin his work on November 1. One of his chests, containing some of his most valuable property, was seized *en route* by falling into the hands, as he says, "bonorum illorum virorum, quibus pro jure vis est, et arma pro legibus." He was waiting for a messenger to come from Oxford with letters and some necessary news, but the messenger only arrived five days after the appointed time, on foot, sad, squalid, and penniless.

[l] "Is unus, quem et fateri pudet, pudor plusquam rusticus et invirilis quædam verecundia. Insuperabilis illa quidem, ut quam natura insevit, firmavit educatio, fovit hactenus atque etiamnum fovet tenuitatis propriæ conscientia."—(Sanderson's Works, IV. 231, ed. Jacobson.)

[m] "(Amici) renunciant fieri non posse: perstare in sententia regem: quod ante jussisset et id ratum esse velle: non utique obniterer porro frustra, sed onus quod excutere non possem, qua possem animi alacritate subirem et perferrem."—(Id.)

The battle of Edge Hill had taken place on October 23, and some of the soldiers who were scattered about the country after that event robbed the unfortunate messenger of his horse, and clothes, and money, and letter-bag. Sanderson, under these circumstances, thought it better to remain for a time where he was. The siege of Oxford followed, and made return thither hopeless.

For two years Sanderson never went beyond the limits of his parish, but was made a sort of hostage for the release of a neighbouring Puritan minister, Mr. Clark, of Allington, each of them being made answerable for the other, on the condition that each should remain a virtual prisoner in his own parish. Ultimately, after the surrender of Oxford to the Parliamentary forces, Sanderson arrived here in the middle of October, 1646, intending to ascertain the actual condition of the University, and to take advice with his friends as to the subjects which he should choose for his lectures. He found himself, to his great surprise, morally forced to begin lecturing at once: it was in vain that he protested. With much reluctance he ascended the Chair, and gave his Inaugural Lecture on October 26, 1646. He avowed his intention of aiming at three things, Truth, Piety, Peace. He expressed his dissent from those theologians who ruthlessly criticise all that others have said or written, or occupy themselves with ingenious but useless subtleties and distinctions, or by a violent reaction from the doctrines of their adversaries, become Semianabaptists by way of being Antipapists, or Semipapists from being Antipuritans. He commented on the difficulty of contending against the hydra-headed forms of contemporary heresy, presented by Socinians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Erastians. It must have been a strange sound to an Oxford audience, to hear a Professor speaking of the skill requisite to detect the hypocrites and enthusiasts, who under the pretence of Reformation cheat the world, who under the mask of the Spirit fight for the flesh, who claim for themselves the liberty of prophesying, that they may impose it upon others more freely. The Professor ended with enumerating seven different theological subjects between which his choice lay.

1. An analytical explanation and illustration of an Apostolic Epistle, with a deduction of practical truths, a full discussion of controversies arising out of the text, an enforcement of passages suitable for the refutation of heresy or sectarianism, and a defence of the Scripture against cavils and objections.

2. An orderly exposition of the Gospel History, by taking one single Gospel, or a harmony of the four, solving the historical difficulties and apparent contradictions.

3. A similar treatment of Church History as contained in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles.

4. A complete survey of the Bible History, from the Creation to the establishment of the Christian Church, with practical applications.

5. An exposition of some common place in Theology from a text, such as the Completeness of Scripture, the Satisfaction of Christ, the Authority of the Church, Original Sin, Justification by Faith, the Merit of Works, Purgatory, Transubstantiation.

6. An exposition of some common place of Practical or Moral Theology, and solution of doubtful cases of conscience, as about Vows, Oaths, Scandals, Things indifferent, Christian Liberty, Obedience and Subjection, Civil Contracts, Divorce, Restitution.

7. A combination of Scholastic and Moral Theology, by employing alternate terms in the discussion of Controversies of Faith, and Cases of Conscience.

Sanderson's choice was finally determined by his own special predilection, and by the circumstances of the time. In the midst of the great political contest then going on between King and Parliament, mere speculative questions of Theology ceased to occupy attention: the practical duties of citizens in regard to the side which they should take in politics were forced upon the consideration of all intelligent men. The arts and sciences, the literature, of the Universities, languished amid the clash of arms. Sanderson determined to give a course of lectures on the obligation of oaths, seven in number. This touched a point, as Izaac Walton says, "very seraphical, and as difficult, and at that

time very dangerous, to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abilities to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important subject, so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of oaths, in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part, or, at least, very useful to their religion." In the following year he delivered a course of ten lectures on the Obligation of Conscience. These lectures were greatly admired at the time of their delivery, as an adequate resolution of some of the most material points of Casuistical Theology. They have been held to possess such permanent value, that they have been edited in our own day by Dr. Whewell, and more recently by Dr. Wordsworth, the present Bishop of Lincoln. Of the general character of Sanderson's own theological views, we have an interesting account in a letter of his to Dr. Hammond. He began his systematic studies in Divinity by reading Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," which settled his judgment for ever after in very many weighty points, and proved a good preparation to him (not to say, antidote) for the reading of Calvin's "Institutions" with more caution than, perhaps, otherwise he would have done. For that book had been commended to him, as it was generally to all young scholars in those times, as the best and perfectest system of Divinity, and fittest to be laid as a ground-work in the study of that profession. He found the method exact, the expressions clear, the style grave, equal, and unaffected, his doctrine, for the most part, conformable to St. Augustine's: in a word, the whole work very elaborate and useful to the Churches of God in a good measure, and likely to have been much more useful, if the honour of his name had not given so much reputation to his very errors. At first, he took little notice of the questions of Election, Reprobation, Effectual Grace, Perseverance, &c. He acquiesced in the Sublapsarian way of thinking on them, as more moderate, rational, and agreeable to the goodness and justice of God: for the rigid Sublapsarian doctrine could never find any entertainment in his thoughts from first to last. But in 1625 he was led to consider the whole controversy, and soon

discerned a necessity of quitting the Sublapsarian way as well as the Supralapsarian. He adopted views much more nearly resembling the Arminian; but the general tenor of his conclusions was, that we ought to rest satisfied with the recognition of a certain autonomy between the electing grace of God and the co-operation of man's will, without attempting perfectly to reconcile the two truths; and on other points of the Quinquarticular Controversy he adopted the same moderate and conciliatory views. The account of this change in his opinions is given in a letter to Dr. Pierce, by whom it was communicated to Hammond, in consequence of which Hammond wrote and published an elaborate letter entitled *Χάρις καὶ Εἰρήνη*, or a Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees (1660).

At the same time, Sanderson was a strong anti-Romanist; in a Preface to one of his volumes of Sermons [n], he declares that in early years he attained to understand so much of the Romish religion as not only to dislike it, but to be able to give some rational account why he did so. And he was an unflinching upholder of what, whether for good or for evil, has been called the *via media* theory of the Church of England; and like other great men of like views, was not ashamed of the term Protestant. The true belief and right understanding of the great Article concerning the Scriptures' sufficiency he affirmed to be "the most proper characteristical note of the right English Protestant, as he standeth in the middle between, and distinguished from, the Papists on the one hand, and the sometimes-styled Puritan on the other. I know not how he can be a Papist that truly believeth it, or he be a Puritan that rightly understandeth it." He was a true specimen of the old Anglo-Catholic.

The disturbances of the time did not leave him in possession of his Professorship. The Covenant and the Negative Oath were sent by the Parliament to Oxford to be sworn to by all members of the University, on pain of expulsion, within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum. The University drew up a reply of reasons for refusing to take these oaths, the legal part of which was written

[n] Vol. II. xxxix., ed. Jacobson.

by Zouch, the Regius Professor of Civil Law, and the ethical and theological part by Sanderson. On June 14, 1648, Sanderson was forced to pack up and depart, thankfu not to be imprisoned as many of his friends were. He lived, as most know, to be restored to his Professorship on the return of Charles II. in 1660, and to be made Bishop of Lincoln in the October of that year. He died amidst the regrets of men of all parties in January, $166\frac{2}{3}$.

The Professorship was offered to Robert Crosse, Fellow of Lincoln, but declined by him, and then to Joshua Hoyle, from Trinity College, Dublin, whom the Parliamentary Visitors had made Master of University. Lord Falkland described him as "a person of some few weak parts, but of very many strong infirmities [o]."

He died within six years [p], and was succeeded by a far abler man, John Conant, Rector of Exeter, a moderate Nonconformist, of indefatigable industry and devotion to duty. Upon his appointment, he read constantly twice a-week in term-time. His lectures were "criticisms upon the Annotations of Grotius, in which he vindicated the Scriptures from such of his expositions as the Socinians had taken any advantage from. These his orthodox and elaborate lectures, composed in a true Roman style, and with great judgment, were received with the general approbation of the learned [q]." The Canonry of Christ Church was separated from the Chair by the Parliamentary Visitors, and given to Henry Cornish, of New College. On the Restoration, Conant, as might be expected, had to make way for his expelled predecessor, and not being able to satisfy himself with compliance with the Act of Uniformity, voided his Headship; but ten years afterwards, upon deliberate study of the whole question, he renounced his scruples, was ordained Priest by Bishop Reynolds, and subsequently became Archdeacon of Norwich, and Vicar of All Saints, Northampton.

[o] Bishop Barlow's Remains (p. 328), publ. 1693.

[p] A. Wood, who was not likely to be an impartial critic, describes his opening lecture on October 16 as a leaden discourse, totally destitute of any kind of erudition in the judgment of most who heard it.

[q] "Life of John Conant, D.D.," by his son, first published by Rev. W. Stanton (Rivingtons), 1823.

Sanderson was made a Bishop so very shortly after his restoration to the Professorship, that he was prevented from resuming its duties, and there is no record of any later lectures given by him. His immediate successor, Dr. Creed, died after eighteen months' incumbency. There followed Richard Allestree, afterwards Provost of Eton. He resigned the Professorship in 1680 (May 8), and died in the following January. A volume of his sermons was published in 1684, and to that is prefixed a memoir of his life, written by an intimate friend. This memoir gives a vivid account of his work as Professor: "In the management of the business of the Chair of Divinity, he performed the scholastic part with great sufficiency in exact and dexterous untying the knots of argument, and solid determination of controverted points, so that he was not oppressed by the fame of any of his most eminent predecessors. His prudence was very remarkable in the choice of subjects to be treated on; for he wasted not time and opportunity in the barren insignificant parts of school divinity, but insisted on the fundamental grounds of controversy between the Church of England and the most formidable enemies thereof. With an equal steadiness, he asserted the Gospel truth against the usurpations of Rome, the innovations of Geneva, the blasphemies of Cracow, and the monsters of our own Malmesbury, never intermeddling with the unfathomable abyss of God's decrees, the indeterminable five points. By his judicious care herein, though he found the University in a ferment, and a great part of its growing hopes sufficiently seasoned with ill prepossessions, he so brought it to pass that during the whole tract of seventeen years that he held the Chair, there was no factious bandying of opinions, nor petulant sidings on the account of them."

That Allestree was a strong anti-Presbyterian is evident, from a published Sermon preached on occasion of the consecration of four Bishops in 166$\frac{0}{1}$. Most of his extant sermons are plain, practical, and devout; some preached before the King are models of faithful addresses. Allestree conferred one great benefit upon his successors. He left for their use a large library of between two and three thousand

volumes; the full and easy use of which has been made available by the accurate and laborious diligence of Dr. Jacobson, the present Bishop of Chester, in writing out with his own hand a complete catalogue of it. I can find little notice of the public teaching of his immediate successors, Dr. Jane, Dr. Potter, afterwards Bishop of Oxford and Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rye[r], and Dr. Fanshawe. The most noticeable facts connected with the first-named, Dr. Jane, are, that he was the person who first recommended to the University Press Bishop Bull's classical work, "Defensio Fidei Nicenæ," when it had been rejected by three booksellers; and that his election as Prolocutor of Convocation, in opposition to the Court candidate, Tillotson, led to the suspension of the sittings of Convocation for more than a century[s]. Potter's administration of his diocese of Oxford is partly known to us by the notices of his interviews with John and Charles Wesley. Fanshawe is mentioned by his immediate successor as having been often seen by the University in the Chair of Theology, but whether as formally lecturing, or as moderating at the disputations, does not appear.

Dr. Edward Bentham, appointed in 1763, had been a Tutor for twenty-four years, and Canon of Christ Church for nine years before his elevation. He delivered an Inaugural Lecture in Michaelmas Term, 1764[t]. Towards the close of it, he mentions that the old plan of teaching had been for the Professor to expound in his lectures some part of Holy Scripture. That plan he thinks adapted to a past

[r] Dr. Rye had as his deputy, Dr. Thomas Randolph, afterwards President of Corpus, and Margaret Professor of Divinity.

[s] Dr. Smalridge, Dean of Christ Church, was Deputy Professor for Dr. Jane, from 1700 to 1706. "In Cathedrâ, ubi Regii Professoris vices sustinuit, enucleate disserendi disputandique solertiam uno ore collaudavit hæc Academia." (Inscription on tomb in Ch. Ch.)

[t] The inscription on his tomb in Christ Church states that he gave additional voluntary lectures:—

"Postea in Cathedram Theologiæ mandato regio evectus
Officio suo adeo non defuit,
Ut novis insuper lectionibus
Sponte et gratuito
Studiosorum gratiâ institutis
Non mediocrem inde susciperet laborem."

condition of things, when books were rare, and access to libraries was difficult, and the *viva voce* instructions of Professors were proportionably more necessary and valuable. Those who are on the foundations of Colleges, he urges to remain at the University, to prosecute their studies for a longer time; to those who are called to go out into the active service of the Church, either by the necessities of the Church, or their own slender means of maintenance, he will endeavour to give such guidance and practical direction as he can by a course of lectures [u].

Dr. Benjamin Wheeler, who immediately succeeded him (1776—1783), had been first Professor of Poetry, and then Professor of Natural Philosophy. He was originally a chorister of New College, and in early life had found an influential patron in Bishop Lowth. Archbishop Newcombe, who knew him intimately, has borne testimony to his excellent parts and severe application, sound taste and judgment, exact and extensive learning [v]. Mr. Christopher Wordsworth, in his wonderfully interesting and laborious book, "Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century [x]," observes that, though there were not wanting men of learning and of purity in Oxford and Cambridge, the few great Divines of the eighteenth century did not communicate their knowledge and enthusiasm to the younger men. For a Professor at the University to lecture was almost the exception. But in 1766, Dr. Edward Bentham delivered a course as King's Professor of Divinity, and Dr. Hey, of Cambridge, did the same as Norrisian Professor. Dr. Samuel Parr, writing in 1800, says, "Dr. Bentham formerly read lectures in the Divinity School, and the same

[u] "Ego Prælectionum mearum cursum eo potissimum inflectere conabor quo utilitas Juniorum præcipue me vocare videtur, ideoque quæ dicenda habeo in præceptionum seriem conjiciam eorum usibus accommodatam." —(*De Studiis Theologicis*, 1764, p. 21.)

[v] One volume of his Theological Lectures was published long after his death, in 1819, by Dr. Horne, Fellow of Trinity. They treat of the great doctrines of Dogmatic Theology, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Office of the Church, the Future Judgment, the Existence of Angels and Spirits, in careful systematic order, and are characterised by perspicuity and sound sense.

[x] Pp. 83, 85.

office is now performed with great ability by Dr. Randolph, whose cares as a prelate (he was Bishop of Oxford) have not made him inattentive to his duties as a Professor[y]." Of the lectures of Dr. Randolph, who held the Chair from 1783 to 1807, a curious record is preserved in the personal reminiscences of the late Mr. G. Valentine Cox: "These lectures were then given late in the evening, by candle-light; one effect of this was, that many of the class slept through the lecture, waking up now and then at the sound of a Greek quotation, e.g. 'The question still recurs (snuffing his pair of candles by turns), *πόθεν τὸ κακόν; πόθεν τὸ κακόν;* whence came evil?' The lecture was neither accompanied nor followed by any questioning or examination. The only things really carried away by the majority of the class were the Syllabus, given to each one at the commencement of the course, and a formidable printed list of authors recommended for future reading, presented at the close of the lectures[z]."

After a short occupation by Dr. Hall, afterwards Dean of Christ Church and of Durham, the Chair came next to Dr. Howley, the future Archbishop of Canterbury. I can remember in my own school-boy days the mild dignity and polished courtesy of that venerable prelate, as he appeared on prize-days. He was painfully anxious in his choice of language, and destitute of the gifts adapted for oratory; forming in this a striking contrast to his younger, but more able friend, Bishop Blomfield. He held the Chair here too short a time to have any influence on theological opinion.

There followed a man of greater intellectual power, Van Mildert, afterwards Bishop of Durham. His Bampton Lectures, preached within a few months of his appointment to the Professorship, are characterised by depth and perspicuity, and a fearlessness of tone. The subject was, "An Enquiry into the General Principles of Scripture Interpretation." It is recorded that the attraction of his public lectures in Divinity was more than ordinary, and that the hearers were always remarkably numerous and attentive, and departed

[y] Parr's Spital Sermon, note 84, quoted by C. Wordsworth.

[z] "Recollections of Oxford," by G. V. Cox, p. 131.

with expressions of satisfaction[a]. As preacher of Lincoln's Inn he was highly appreciated by the barristers who formed his congregation, and his Boyle Lectures on Infidelity have a permanent value.

Frodsham Hodgson, Principal of Brasenose, then occupied the Chair for two years, and was succeeded by Dr. Charles Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of Oxford. He gave fresh life and vigour to the Public Lectures, which had fallen into comparative disregard. These lectures had most nearly the character of the German Lectures on Encyclopædia, each lecture taking up half or perhaps all of a subject, and referring to the books in which these subjects could be studied in fuller detail. It was in this way that great topics like Atheism or Deism were treated. Dr. Lloyd also formed small classes of persons, who could remain in residence in the University for some time after taking their degree. He read with them on a variety of subjects, giving them special books to get up, catechising them upon these, and then adding his own thoughts and observations. Thus one term he discussed the criticism of the Septuagint, using Carpzov's Introduction; in others, Prideaux "on the History between the Old and the New Testaments," Graves "on the Pentateuch," Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History." But his chief lectures were on the Epistles of St. Paul. He set the example of an elaborate study of the text and its interpretation, by occupying one whole lecture with the discussion of the four first verses of the Epistle to the Romans[b].

Lloyd was followed by Dr. Edward Burton, who carried on and extended the improvements introduced by his predecessor, bestowing much individual attention on those students who exhibited special interest in prosecuting theological studies. In 1805, he gave all who attended his lectures a long list of books recommended for study, occupying four closely-printed octavo pages. It was arranged under the several heads of Atheism and Infidelity, Natural

[a] "Life of Van Mildert," by C. Ives, i. p. 49.

[b] This account of Bishop Lloyd's lectures is given on the authority of Dr. Pusey, who was himself one of his auditors.

and Revealed Religion, Deism, Evidences of Christianity, Prophecy, Miracles, Hebrew and Syriac, the Jews, Holy Scripture, Old Testament, Septuagint, New Testament, Holy Trinity, Divinity of Christ, Atonement, Holy Spirit, Creeds, Sacraments, Church Government, Ecclesiastical History, Fathers, Reformation, Popery, Mahometanism, Church of England, Religious Faith and Practice, Pastoral Duties. Dr. Burton contributed to the advance of Historical Theology by various works of which he was the author, such as the "Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ," and the "Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Doctrine of the Trinity and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost;" and his lectures on the "Ecclesiastical History of the First Three Centuries" were much appreciated, and went through three editions. Burton died in the prime of life, having held the Chair for only seven years.

At this stage of a biographical survey of my predecessors in the Professorship, prudence and delicacy alike compel me to stop. Dr. Hampden was appointed in 1836, Dr. Jacobson in 1848, Dr. Payne Smith in 1865, and Dr. Mozley in 1871. Two of them still survive, occupying high posts in the Church. Of the controversy, bitter and protracted, associated with the name of Hampden, it is manifestly impossible for me to speak freely. In reading over recently many of the innumerable pamphlets to which that controversy gave birth, I could not but feel that they exhibited many signs of intolerance and refusal to listen to the explanations of the accused party. We can afford to judge these disputes now more calmly in the distant retrospect. Certainly a successor in the Chair may be excused for being inspired, and somewhat overawed, with some consciousness of the dignity and influence of his office, and the enormous responsibility attached to it in academical opinion, when he recalls how prohibition of attendance upon the lectures of the Regius Professor, and his deprivation of a share in the appointment of Select Preachers, were inflicted as penalties for his alleged unsoundness in the faith. I have no desire to kindle the ashes of a dead controversy: honesty compels

me to say, that when as a young B.A. I attended the last course of lectures given by Dr. Hampden before his removal to the see of Hereford, I was totally unconscious of the occurrence in them of any language implying departure from the received form of orthodox doctrine.

The death of my lamented immediate predecessor has deprived the world of literature, and the University, of the most accomplished philosophic theologian whom this age has produced, in the time of the full maturity of his patiently-trained intellectual powers. To the world in general, to many of ourselves, among whom I may include myself, he speaks more powerfully and convincingly being dead, than when living in our midst. The absence of the physical powers which make a man an orator, and win the imagination or the understanding of his hearers, robbed his noblest and most thoughtful utterances of the immediate effect which their intrinsic merits so indisputably claimed. The unanimity of laudatory criticism which was evoked by the publication of Dr. Mozley's University Sermons in 1876, first revealed to the English public that the mantle of the great Bishop, Joseph Butler, the Author of the "Analogy" and "the Sermons," had fallen on a Divine of this century. To those who are acquainted with the admirable sketch of Dr. Mozley's intellectual and moral character drawn by the pen of his intimate friend, the present Dean of St. Paul's, no additional eulogy is necessary or even admissible. The boy was emphatically father of the man. The inquisitive intellect which, before ten years of age, could lead the child to defend the doctrine of free-will to a favourite nurse against the Calvinistic sermons of the parish curate, following throughout life its ruling passion, naturally resulted in later years in the authorship of such works as the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination, the Bampton Lectures on Miracles, and the Lectures on Ruling Ideas in Early Ages. The stern devotion to truth which led him, at the bidding of what seemed to him an irresistible argument of reason, to detach himself in the great Baptismal Controversy of thirty years ago from the theological party with whom all his earliest sympathies were

associated, must be acknowledged even by those who are not convinced by his reasonings, and do not reach his conclusions, to be a noble instance of intrepidity and intellectual conscientiousness.

In controversy, he moved in a calm region of philosophic thought and dialectic subtlety, where none of the miserable personalities of debate could find entrance. In the inscrutable providence of God he has been withdrawn all too soon from the world of English thought, where his wisdom and tenacious grasp of great ideas could have shed light upon the vexed problems of Theology, and Science, and Morality, and their relations. The same gifts are not given to all. His successor cannot hope to follow him in the intricacies of such profound speculations. He must attempt a humbler task, and see whether he cannot turn to account a long experience with the intellectual and moral wants of the younger members of the academic body, by offering them some guidance in their studies, and some help in solving the problems of their age and time, which touch on the deep mysteries of God's existence, and man's spiritual life; and he will have his highest reward, if he can impart to those who are destined to be ministers of the Church of Christ in this land, an intelligent knowledge of the doctrines which they are to teach, and the grounds on which they rest; and to those whose call is to other spheres of employment, an assurance that they will be following the truest conclusions of reason, and the noblest impulses of their moral nature, by living and dying as believers of the Christian Faith.

LECTURE II.

THE history of the study of Theology in Oxford is indissolubly connected with the history of the external fortunes of the University, and its relations to the Church and to the State. The University of Oxford, in its earliest educational system, was modelled after the pattern of the University of Paris. Even in such comparatively unimportant details as the hours when lectures should be given, injunctions were given that there should be no departure from the custom of Paris[a]. In the arrangement of the various studies, one valuable principle has been steadily maintained from the very first, that Theology, as the most important and crowning Science, should not be systematically studied until after a long preparatory discipline. Theology all along has been based upon Arts. The Statutes of Walter de Merton, which were the model upon which were framed all the earlier Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, expressly provided that the majority of the Scholars on his foundation should continue engaged in the liberal arts and philosophy, till passed on to the study of Theology by the decision of the Warden and Fellows, and as the result of meritorious proficiency in these preliminary studies. The close association of Theology with Philosophy, as then conceived, is manifested in the fact, that for three centuries the Sentences of Peter Lombard formed the Theological text-book of the University. That noted work was the introduction of the scholastic dialectic into the elucidation and defence of the dogmatic system of the Church. Professing to be based almost entirely on extracts from the writings of four Fathers of the Latin Church—Augustine, Ambrose, Hilary, and Cassiodorus—it notwithstanding made

[a] Letter of Robert Grossteste, Bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1240. "Ne a patrum et majorum vestigiis et conformitate Regentium Parisiis Theologorum manifeste recedatur."

the appeal from authority to reason, and issued in speculations which left little time for the study either of the Bible or the Christian Fathers. In Oxford, the graduate in Theology was admitted to the public reading of the Sentences before he was admitted to the lecturing on the Bible. There had been a Public Lecture endowed by Edward IV. in 1481, and another by the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, in 1502; and another by Cardinal Wolsey in 1518. The first occupants of these chairs seem to have expounded portions of Scripture. After Luther had published some of his first writings, the Oxford Professors addressed themselves to the defence of the existing dogmatic faith of the Church. The foundation of the Regius Professorship of Divinity synchronises with the stormy period of the Reformation. In the midst of the fierce controversies of the age, it was impossible that a calm scientific study of Theology should flourish. The struggles, political and ecclesiastical, between the old and the new learning, were too intense for any dispassionate survey of Theological truth. The Crown of England was engaged in an internecine war with the Papacy: whether Romanists or Protestants were in power, dissentients from the established religion held their lives in their hands, and were liable to death, or imprisonment, or exile. The University was no sequestered home of calm study; its life beat in perfect unison with the life of the nation, and it could only boast a very partial independence of the State. In our quieter days of toleration and freedom, we can hardly realize what must have been the intensity of Theological strife in the days when Peter Martyr and Richard Smyth, the actual and the deposed Professor of Theology, disputed in the School, amidst the tumult of rival factions, and the imminent danger of life and limb. Doubtless, in Oxford as in Cambridge, and throughout the land generally, there was revived a more earnest and profound study of the Bible, the original source of Christian Theology; continuous expositions of particular books of the Bible were part of the method of teaching adopted by the first Public Lecturers. But this increased study of the Bible was materially vitiated by the controversial temper in

which it was pursued: the object was not so much to arrive at an honest exegesis of the meaning of the original text, as to find in it arguments for the refutation of opposed doctrines. It was almost inevitable that the destructive tendency under such a method should be stronger than the constructive: by the very nature of the case, Protestantism, in its genuine original sense, as a protest against corruptions, had to justify its existence, and this produced corresponding Defences on the other side. Vehement language in controversy, not unmixed with personal abuse, was thought allowable on both sides. We may be thankful that the happier circumstances of our own time have given us the opportunity (would that we all used it!) of adopting a calmer, more argumentative tone; yet it is not for us, who are in no peril of our lives, to pass too severe a criticism upon the controversial attitude of men, who had to prove the sincerity of their convictions, from time to time, by the surrender of their life or their country.

The two great controversies which agitated the theological studies of Oxford for a century and more, were that between Popery and Protestantism, and that between Calvinism and Arminianism. Our preceding survey of those who have held the chief Chair of Theology in the University, can have left no doubt that from the time of Elizabeth to that of Charles I. the dominant theology was strongly anti-Papal and as strongly Calvinistic. After the first fierce struggles of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, many of the Heads of Houses and Fellows of Colleges returned to their allegiance to Rome. It was necessary, therefore, and only natural, that the Crown should nominate for the highest posts of influence men who were not likely to revert to belief in the Supremacy of the Pope. Most of the Divines who were most warmly attached to the cause of the Reformation had, during the Marian persecutions, fled to Switzerland, and associating at Zurich, Geneva, Strasburg, with the leading foreign Reformers, had adopted opinions which were far more advanced in the way of departure from the old doctrine and ceremonies of the medieval Church, than were those of the Divines who had the chief share in framing the first revised

Prayer-Book of the Church of England in 1549. More particularly, they had fallen under the influence of that great master of metaphysical Theology, John Calvin, and had embraced his logically-elaborated views on the subtle questions of Predestination and Free-will. They identified anti-Calvinistic views with Popery and Pelagianism. In their studies, the Institutes of Calvin had taken the place of the Sentences of Peter Lombard. The first Regius Professors belonged to this school of thought. Humphrey was so outspoken in his Disputations and Lectures, that he got the title of Papisto-Mastix. Holland, as we have seen, on starting a journey, used to commend his Fellows to the love of God, and hatred of Popery and all superstition. Abbot wrote a treatise "Exercitationes de Gratiâ et Perseverantiâ Sanctorum" (1618), and another called "The Mirror of Papist Subtleties" (1594). Prideaux was "a stout champion against Arminius and Socinus." This dominant tendency of personal influence naturally affected all the public teaching and public ordinances of the University. In 1578, Convocation ordered, that, for the extirpation of heresy and instruction of young men in true piety, these books should be read, Nowell's "Larger Catechism," or John Calvin's "Catechism," or the "Elements of Christian Religion," by Andrew Hyperius, or the "Heidelberg Catechism;" and to these might be added, for those older, the "Catechism" of Bullinger, the "Institutions" of Calvin, or Jewel's "Apology of the Church of England," or the "Thirty-nine Articles, with an explanation of the Doctrines by Texts from Scripture, or sometimes from the Fathers;" and all Catechisms contrary to this sound doctrine, and other superstitious and Popish books, were forbidden to be read or possessed. A Catechist was to be appointed in each college to carry out this ordinance.

Sermons filled with personal invectives against opponents having been frequently preached in the University, Lord Leicester, the Chancellor, ordered that no one should be allowed to preach before the University who had not satisfied the Vice-Chancellor and the Regius Professor; and, if after license any one preached unsoundly or offensively,

he should be convened before these two officers, and inhibited from preaching till found to be thoroughly reformed. The same Chancellor complained in 1582 that the Queen's Reader read few times, and very negligently when he did read! and again, in 1590, that he read only twice, instead of six times a-week. There are records of constant suspensions of preachers for assailing the popular Theology during the next twenty or thirty years. In 1616, a sense of weariness of the perpetual discussion, in season and out of season, of the Calvinistic controversy, seems to have come over the authorities; and James I. sent an order that young Students in Divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in Doctrine and Discipline to the Church of England, and excited to bestow their time on the Fathers and Councils, Schoolmen, Histories and Controversies, and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviators, making them their grounds of their study in Divinity. Heylin has expressed his opinion, that this was the first step towards the suppressing of that reputation which Calvin and his writings had attained to in this University, though it was thwarted by the opposition and lukewarmness of the two Professors of Divinity, Prideaux and Benefield. The next year, in pursuance of the royal injunctions, Convocation established the famous Court of the Six Doctors, who were to have the power of trying and inhibiting any preacher who interpreted any doctrine contrary to Holy Scripture, or favoured any perverse opinions, from which it might be seen that he took any party side ("ex quo partium studio probabiliter esse addictum constet").

This was at the instigation of Laud, and brought on him afterwards a storm of unpopularity. The weapon told against both parties: in one and the same year (1630) one preacher was punished for attacking the Synod of Dort, another for attacking the Arminian Bishops.

A curious illustration of the continuance of the old influence is found in a letter of Laud to the Bishop of Winchester, dated Feb. 2, 1636:—"I have often wondered why so many good scholars come from Winchester to New College, and yet so few of them afterwards prove eminent

men. And while I lived in Oxford, I thought upon divers things that might be causes of it, and I believe true ones; but I have lately heard of another, which I think hath done and doth the college a great deal of harm in the breeding of their young men. When they come from Winchester, they are to be probationers two years, and then Fellows. A man would think those two years, and some years afterward, should be allowed to Logic, Philosophy, Mathematics, and the like grounds of learning, the better to enable them to study Divinity with judgment: but I am of late accidentally come to know, that when the probationers stand for their Fellowships, and are to be examined how they have profited, one chief thing in which they are examined is, how diligently they have read Calvin's 'Institutions:' and are more strictly held to it, how they have profited in that than almost in any kind of learning besides. I do not deny but that Calvin's 'Institutions' may profitably be read, and as one of their first books of Divinity, when they are well grounded in other learning: but to begin with it so soon, I am afraid doth not only hinder them from all grounds of judicious learning, but also too much possess their judgments before they are able to judge, and makes many of them humorous in, if not against, the Church."

It was impossible that there could be any scientific treatment of Theology in the midst of such party struggles, and such perpetual interferences from external authorities. The spirit of controversy roused angry tempers: the possibility was hardly admitted that neither of the extreme views might be right: that an exaggerated Calvinism might annihilate free-will, and with it moral responsibility; that an exaggerated Arminianism might annihilate the need of Divine Grace. It hardly occurred to the excited disputants to enquire, on the one side, whether the Papal System did not contain a large element of primitive catholic truth, as well as an element of medieval corruption; or on the other, whether Puritanism did not bear witness to the spirituality and individuality of religion, which might be crushed by an exclusive consideration of the outer framework of the Church. The consequence is, that no theological works of

permanent value have come to our age, written by the academic Divines of this period. The one great philosophic work of the age, which though called out in the first instance by a passing controversy, will remain a κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί, the "Ecclesiastical Polity," was written by Richard Hooker in the seclusion of a country parsonage, and eight years after he had ceased to be a resident Fellow of Corpus. It is a signal instance of the majesty of a calm discussion, which, pervaded by subtle humour, is altogether free from the bitterness of party spirit, that Pope Clement VIII., on hearing the first book translated into Latin, declared, "This man will get reverence by age, for there is in him such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

The first Professor to whom Theology owed the chance of being treated in a freer spirit apart from violent partisanship, was Sanderson. I have already recalled the account of his own mental history in connection with the Calvinistic controversy, and his recoil from the extreme views of either side. The temper of the man is shewn in the famous Preface to our present Prayer-Book, composed by him: "It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her publick Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes. In this review, we have endeavoured to observe the like moderation, as we find to have been used in the like case in former time. Our general aim, therefore, in this undertaking was, not to gratify this or that party in any their unreasonable demands; but to do that which to our best understandings we conceived might most tend to the preservation of peace and unity in the Church, the procuring of reverence, and exciting of piety and devotion in the publick worship of God, and the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church."

Sanderson was only able to deliver two courses of Public Lectures in Oxford. These, it is true, were suggested by the immediate circumstances of the time; they treated of casuistical questions in reference to the obligation of oaths and of conscience. But they discussed these questions with

philosophical breadth and precision, and endeavoured to base practical rules upon scientific principles: that they were a permanent contribution to Moral Theology, and not merely ephemeral pamphlets, is attested by the fact, to which I have before referred, that they have in our own day been re-edited by two men of such different intellectual and theological tendencies as Dr. Whewell and Bishop Wordsworth. A theologian like-minded with Sanderson adorned Oxford at the same time, Henry Hammond, Sub-Dean of Christ Church. And he, too, though he wrote a good deal in reference to passing controversies, had nobler conceptions of the province of Theology than his academical predecessors. His "Practical Catechism" was a valuable application of speculative Theology to the religious conduct of life, and is said to have done more than any other work in stemming the tide of vice and profanity which broke loose at this time[b]." His "Annotations on the New Testament," set the example of interpreting the New Testament in its original and historical meaning, with reference to the customs of the Jews, and of the first heretics in the Christian Church, and of the heathens, especially in the great games, with learned illustrations of the Hellenistic dialect. His biographer, Dr. Fell, tells us that on taking his M.A. degree, he bought a system of Divinity, with design to apply himself straightway to that study; but upon second thoughts, he returned for a time to humane learning: and afterwards, when he resumed his purpose for Theology, he took quite a different course of reading from the other too much usual, beginning that science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive truth in the primitive writers, and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossessed by the contrived and interested schemes of modern authors.

During the century from 1650 to 1750 ecclesiastical affairs were so inextricably bound up with political, and the Universities so controlled by external authority, as of the Crown and the Chancellor, that Theology could not flourish. There were endless controversies, attacks and defences, con-

[b] Perry, "Student's English Church History," p. 519.

tested elections, schemings for preferment, but little scientific study, either of Scripture or of Dogmatic Theology. The great Church of England Divines whose names survive, and whose works are still read, lived away from the Universities. Pearson, it is true, was Margaret Professor at Cambridge from 1661—1673, but his classical work on the Creed was originally a series of lectures in his parish church of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, in London. Bull was driven away from the University of Oxford by the troubles of the Civil War, after only two years' residence, and wrote his *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, and his *Judicium Ecclesiæ* (for which he received the thanks of Bossuet and all the Gallican clergy), in the comparative obscurity of a country parish and a Welsh bishopric. Butler wrote the "Analogy" whilst Rector of Stanhope, in Durham. The only theological authors of eminence resident in the Universities were, Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity, and Waterland, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

The Caroline Divines had driven Calvinistic doctrine from the higher theology of the Church of England, but there was little constructive teaching to take its place [c]. The age of Evidences succeeded, when the attention of men was more directed to proving the truth and reasonableness of Christianity against the Atheistical and Deistical Schools, than to expounding what Christianity was, and how it might be applied to the emergencies of human life. Exegetical Theology in connection with Scripture was almost extinct. In Oxford, the old system of disputations for degrees in Theology, which required the capacity of seeing what might be urged against received dogmas of Christian Faith, and ready skill in answering the objections, had at one time possessed some life and reality; but it had gradually subsided into unmeaning formalities, where all was pre-

[c] There is a curious passage in Archbishop Potter's Speech in Convocation, Dec. 10, 1741, when passing eulogy on Waterland, who had recently died: "Jam certe tantum non obmutuit Ariana impietas, quæ aliquot abhinc annis tam insolenter se extulerat ut, vano licet augurio, palam jactare non vereretur, brevi temporis spatio haud plures reperiundos fore qui Nicæni Concilii fidem, quam qui *obsoleta quædam Calvini dogmata*, defenderent."

arranged, and there was no room for originality, or for dialectic skill.

The movement originating in Oxford, which caused a revolution in the moral and spiritual life of the country, was connected not with speculative, but practical Theology. John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln, his brother Charles, Student of Christ Church, Ingham, of Queen's, Broughton, Fellow of Exeter, Whitfield, of Pembroke, and others, formed the first Society whom the world nick-named Methodists, and who certainly have affected the popular theology of their countrymen far more than all the contemporary Professors of Oxford and Cambridge. It is treading on delicate ground, but I suppose it may be said that, on the other hand, the Oxford movement of a century later, which we have known in our own time, was primarily based on a speculative theory of the grounds of Christian Dogma, though it largely revolutionised the whole practical life of the Church. But it was propagated, not from the Chair of the Professor, but from the lecture-room of the College tutor, and from the parsonage of the poet pastor, and from the pulpit of the parochial Vicar, and not of the University Preacher of St. Mary's, and enforced not so much by new writings, as by republication of the writings of the ancient Catholic Fathers and the English Caroline Divines. There was a proportionate danger of English Theology losing any living freshness by becoming wholly a reproduction of the thought of past generations, and refusing to grapple with the new scientific and literary problems of contemporary culture.

In tracing very rapidly the history of the formal study of Theology in Oxford, I may begin with saying, that the Statutes as they were in force last century, ordered the Margaret Professor to lecture every Tuesday and Thursday at 9 A.M., when he was to expound in the School of Divinity some part of Scripture; and all Bachelors in Divinity, and all Fellows and Chaplains of Colleges or Halls who were in Holy Orders, were to attend these lectures till they were of standing for D.D. The Regius Professor was in the same way to lecture at 9 A.M. every Monday and

Friday on some part of Scripture, and all M.A.'s (unless they were *bonâ fide* students of Law or Medicine) were to attend till they were of standing for D.D. At the same period, every candidate for B.D. had to attend the lectures of the Professor for seven years; and must have been twice an opponent, and once a respondent for two hours in a theological disputation, and have preached a Latin Sermon at St. Mary's. A candidate for D.D. had to attend the lectures of the Professor for four years, and to lecture six times in Latin, from 1 to 2 P.M., on any part of Scripture, or to give three cursory lectures on the Epistle to the Galatians, or one of those to Timothy or Titus, or one Epistle of S. Peter. How far these Statutes were observed, how often they were dispensed with, I cannot ascertain. In 1855, these Statutes about degrees were amended, the graduate was to be bound to have given attention to Theology, either in Oxford or elsewhere. In 1868, two English dissertations on some subject of dogmatic or critical Theology, and three expositions of passages of Scripture, were substituted for the old disputations and Latin theses. In 1842, in consequence of the foundation of the two new Regius Professorships of Pastoral Theology and Ecclesiastical History, a new Theological Statute was passed (mainly, I believe, under the suggestions of the present Venerable Provost of Oriel), with the avowed object of improving the education of candidates for Holy Orders [d]; and an examination was instituted, to be held once a-year, open to all Bachelors of Arts under the standing of M.A.; and in 1864, an additional Statute was passed, giving the three Denyer and Johnson Theological Scholarships to the three best candidates in this Examination. The purely Voluntary Examination proved an utter failure. If the Register has been correctly kept, the total number who passed between 1844 and 1863 was only seven. Since the prize of the Scholarships was added, fifty-two have passed in the twelve years.

A much more effectual measure for the revival of the systematic study of Theology in the University was the accept-

[d] "Quum in tota re theologica hodie opus sit majori et labore et subsidio, quo melius et accuratius ad sacros ordines instituantur studiosi."

ance by Convocation, in 1869, of a Statute by which an Honour School of Theology was established, co-ordinate with the Schools of Literæ Humaniores, Mathematics, Modern History, Jurisprudence, and Natural Science; the principle being admitted that a common literary and classical culture should be given to all students for the first part of their curriculum, and that then, to qualify for their degree, a certain amount of proficiency in any one of these six branches of study should suffice. Under that Statute we are now living. I cannot think that at present the School of Theology can be said to have worked satisfactorily. Since 1874 there have been four occasions when the First Class has been utterly empty; since 1870, nine times when it has contained only one name. This is hardly the occasion to discuss the reasons for this disheartening result; they will be found partly in the fact, that at first there was a very inadequate conception formed by many students of the standard of industry and proficiency requisite for success in any Honour School; partly in the inferior preliminary training of those who offered themselves, very few candidates having previously obtained Honours in the First Classical Examination; partly in the novelty and uncertainty of the whole scheme; partly in the lamentable, but not unnatural, absence in most Colleges of any moral support of the School, and of any efficient *tutorial* assistance to candidates,—a deficiency contrasting so unfavourably with the advantages open to candidates in other comparatively new Schools, such as Modern History.

Still, admitting fully that the development of the School during these its first nine years, has disappointed the expectations of those who most warmly advocated it, and that there is room for much improvement, towards which both the teachers and the taught must contribute, it is undeniable that there has been revived the closer study of the original Scripture, of the early Church historians, and of portions of the writings of the early Christian Fathers. The School has steered clear of the threatened rocks of a narrow partisanship; many men who have been ordained have entered the ministry with a far better intellectual equipment than

many of their predecessors, and a right method has been pursued; not that of starting from some modern Body of Divinity, but that of going back to the original sources [e].

What are the duties of Theology, and of the Professors of Theology, to the University in its present condition? In endeavouring to answer this question, I hope not to be unmindful of the proverb, "Let not him that putteth on his armour boast himself as he that putteth it off," but I venture to express an opinion that we who are called to Chairs of Theology have distinct duties: 1. Towards the candidates in the Honour School of Theology; 2. Towards the candidates for Ordination, who are required by the Bishops of the Church to attend our lectures; 3. Towards the Church at large, more particularly its ministers, in reference to the controversies of our own day; 4. Towards the world of literature and culture, who are confronted with mighty theological problems raised by science and criticism.

1. Towards students aiming at Honours in Theology.—Here, as it appears to me, Professors ought not to be expected to give the mere elementary knowledge by construing text-books, or keeping exclusively in view any particular scheme of examination,—that is rather the province of the private lecturer or tutor; but they should try to communicate the more advanced teaching, giving general introductions to books of the Bible, or evolving the general thought of a book, or expounding some fundamental Christian dogma, or giving philosophic comments on the history of the Church or of Christian Doctrine, or determining the relation of Theology to other sciences, or defending doctrines against misrepresentations or objections. The Professors will, of course, act upon the principle of a division in labour, being as they are six in number, with the provinces of most of them clearly defined by their Statutes, and should try to organize the logical teaching and study, by attempting some solution of the vexed problem of harmonizing University and Collegiate or inter-Collegiate instruction. A new Pro-

[e] "Libri Novi Testamenti ex ipsis fontibus exponantur. In historia etiam tum ecclesiæ tum liturgiarum tractanda fontium utriusque ratio habeatur." (Statute, vi. (ix.), II. 8, 26.

fessor may be pardoned for expressing a hope, that the synchronising of the action of a University Commission, possessed of large powers of re-organization, with his own appointment, may facilitate any feeble efforts of his own to accomplish these particular ends.

2. Towards Candidates for Holy Orders.—In this respect, the Regius Professor has a larger responsibility of duty laid upon him than any of his colleagues. For, following long prescription, almost all the English Bishops require attendance on his lectures, if not on those of some second Professor, as a condition of admission of Oxford candidates for ordination in their dioceses. This circumstance, it seems to me, largely determines the duty of the Regius Professor in his more Public Lectures, two series of which he is ordered by the Statute to give in each year. He cannot, or he ought not, to forget that a very considerable number of men who come to his lectures probably never go to any other theological lectures than his during the whole time of their University residence. If he feels that by this arrangement he is protected against competition, and secured an audience, he ought also to feel, as it appears to me, that he has an opportunity given him of which he ought to avail himself. He must not be minute in any one branch of his subject, he must be general; he must try to arrest attention, to kindle a spiritual as well as an intellectual interest in those who may hereafter be the teachers of the Church; he must be a general guide and adviser, mapping out portions of the field to be explored, suggesting a method, inspiring curiosity, rousing mental activity, rather than pouring in information. He who now enters on office would only be too happy if he could think that, having a clear conception of the ideal in this function, he were able in any measure to realise it. He knows that he labours under the dead weight of an evil tradition, which often makes this compulsory attendance degenerate into an idle formality; he appeals to the generous impulses of young men with whom he has been in intimate sympathy and intercourse in Oxford for thirty years, to help him in breaking down the evil tradition.

3. Towards the Church at large, more particularly the clergy, in reference to the controversies of our own day.—It is apparently the inexorable law of the operation of the human intellect, that there must be diversities of opinion, opposed modes of thought and feeling, determined partly by original differences of mental constitution, partly by the associations of education. We cannot all hope to see alike. The Church of Christ is no exception in this respect to other Societies. From the beginning of its existence, from the days of its Apostolic infancy, there have been in it "schools of thought." Now, as of old, there are some who turn rather to the more subjective side of Theology, and concentrating their chief attention upon the religious wants of the individual soul and its relations to God, dwell almost exclusively upon what have been called "the Doctrines of Grace;" while there are others whose point of view is more objective, whose thoughts are arrested by the majesty of the conception of the Church as one Body, with an external organization and visible rites. The one dwells most in the present, the other looks back with fond memory to the past. Both these tendencies have been very clearly marked in the Church of England since the great era of the Reformation. In the struggles connected with the revision of the Prayer-Book, which lasted for rather more than a century, the principle of one party was to aim at a closer conformity to the model of the continental Reformed Churches, that of the other to make a review, after comparing the primitive Liturgies, hitherto the acknowledged modes of Public Worship. According to one point of view, the Church of Christ had only existed, in the midst of the general corruption of the middle ages, in a few communities of spiritually-minded believers; according to the other, it had had an unbroken continuous existence in the visible Church, however marred by imperfections.

The Church of England, from the time of its re-organization in the sixteenth century, with a wise and bold comprehension has recognised these two tendencies; and spite of all the contemptuous insinuations of feeble and cowardly

compromise in so doing, has remained at once Catholic and Protestant, holding fast both to Sacramental Grace and Personal Faith, not allowing the Church to crush the Reason by authority, nor the Individual to indulge the disuniting licence of Sectarianism. It has endeavoured, with whatever success, to combine Order and Freedom.

But it has not escaped the violence of internal controversy: it is suffering from it acutely in our own day. Is it not the province of a Faculty of Theology, in the University which by long prescription and legislation is allied with the National Church, to act the part of Moderator in such disputes. To be trusted, to have real influence, it ought inflexibly to keep aloof from any religious partisanship, or identification with any party organizations within the Church itself? It ought, if I may venture to speak openly what I feel deeply, to lift up its voice, and call attention to the comparative importance of subjects of theological controversy; to try to induce men to abandon questions whether a clergyman shall preach in a black gown or a white surplice, or light candles on the altar, at a time when men of culture in drawing-rooms are denying the possibility of the very conception of Supernatural Religion, and artisans in their shops and their clubs are maintaining that, as a future life is entirely uncertain, Secularism is the only rule of life for sensible men. It makes one's heart sick to read the original letters of the period of the Reformation, and notice how men were wrangling over the Vestiarian question as a matter of a standing or falling Church. One thinks how, if a truer estimate of relative importance had been entertained, Ultramontanism would never have assumed its vast proportions, and Protestantism in France might not have been stamped out by the Dragonnades of Louis XIV. We lament the bitterness of the contest between Calvinism and Arminianism; but it was surely nobler that the Five Points at issue should be such high themes as Predestination, Particular Redemption, Free Will, Irresistible Grace, Final Perseverance, than that the Six Points to be retained at all hazards, or to be forbidden by stringent law, should be,

as is now proclaimed, Incense, Lights, Vestments, Eastward Position, Wafer Bread, Mixed Chalice.

One great service which a Faculty of Theology might render, would be by insisting on the need of the adoption of the historical method in questions of interpretation of Scripture, doctrine, and ceremonial. Take the interpretation of Scripture: it is extremely desirable to ascertain how the early Greek Fathers in particular understood the New Testament; they are witnesses of the primitive tradition; they were acquainted by vernacular use with the language which they were explaining; they may fairly be expected to have known what it meant. Apply this rule. We constantly find now repeated an assertion that every Scholar who can read his Greek Testament must know that τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, in the account of the institution of the Eucharist, means "Sacrifice this." If this be true, then S. Chrysostom must have been a bad Greek Scholar; for in his Homilies on the Gospels, and on the Epistle to the Corinthians, he never makes the slightest reference to this meaning. In the great controversy between the Churches of England and Rome, the appeal to history is of vital importance. It is decisive in such questions as the theory of the Sacrament of Penance, of Purgatory, of the Supremacy of the Roman See. A dispassionate historical survey of the growth of ceremonies will prove that much that claims to be Catholic is only medieval.

A University might do much to promote the adoption of the historical method in Theology on the literary side; there is scope for theological research of a most useful kind. Nothing is more desirable than there should be good critical editions of the Fathers; they have been so tampered with and interpolated for controversial purposes, that they need elucidation by all the critical appliances of collation of MSS. and quotations in contemporary writers, which are now open to modern scholars. One result of our present plan of making all who are on the foundations of Colleges take immediately an active share in tuition, is the danger of little leisure being left for study and research. It would redound to the honour of Oxford, if a few men could render such

efficient aid in this patristic research as Mr. Philip Pusey has done, in his edition of S. Cyril of Alexandria. We shall never arrive at any satisfactory settlement of many of our liturgical controversies, till we get revised editions of the ancient Liturgies[f]. The MSS. on which the present texts of the Greek Liturgies are based, are very few, and comparatively late in date. For the Western Liturgies there is supposed to be much unedited material in the French Libraries and Monasteries. This is an enterprise of research well worthy of the attention of some young theologians with literary tastes. And such investigation of MSS. would need verification by a careful collection of the references in early Christian writers to portions of the Public Worship of the Church, after the manner of what was done partially for S. Chrysostom by Bingham in his "Ecclesiastical Antiquities."

Amidst much to discourage, there is one sign of hopefulness in theological literature, and that is the revived study of the original Scriptures. Germany, no doubt, has set England the example of elaborate Commentaries upon the several books of the Bible; but England has followed the lead, and added perhaps more sobriety of judgment. The publication in our own time of such books as the Greek Testaments of Dean Alford and Bishop Wordsworth, Dr. Pusey's "Minor Prophets" and "Daniel," "The Speaker's Commentary," Professor Lightfoot's "Pauline Epistles," are a cheering proof that men are ready, when invited, to go back to the fountain-head of Christian truth; and these books have found numerous students and readers. If we will follow the guidance of Providence, it may be the privilege of our generation to get a deeper insight into the meaning and inexhaustible fulness of Scripture, and its adaptation to the wants of mankind; for, as the philosophic Bishop Butler has reminded us, "It is not at all incredible that a book, which has been so long in the posses-

[f] This work had been partially begun by Edward Theodore Gibbons, Student of Christ Church, and formerly Scholar of Exeter College, when it was interrupted by his premature and lamented death, July 28, 1876.

sion of mankind, should contain many truths as yet undiscovered. Possibly it might be intended that events, as they come to pass, should open, and ascertain the meaning of several parts of Scripture[g]."

4. Lastly, Theology in the University has a function to discharge towards the world of literature and culture.—It is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact, that Theology occupies a very prominent place in the current literature of the day. It is very unusual to take up a quarterly or monthly periodical without finding in it an article on some question more or less connected with Theology. All thinking men have something to say on the problems discussed—sometimes with reverence, sometimes with ill-suppressed contempt, sometimes with scornful hatred, sometimes with sympathetic tenderness. Scientific men, literary men, as well as professed divines, mingle in the fray. Why should they not? The grave problems at issue are "the things by which we live."

Science cannot boast a uniformity of judgment and sentiment. Presidents of the British Association do not every year hold exactly the same language on the relation of Science to Theology. Some men of great note in the scientific world are devout Christians; others are avowed Atheists. What shall be the attitude of Theologians? First, let them appeal to men of Science to discuss the questions at issue with a gravity and seriousness befitting the unspeakable importance of the decision[h]. Let them entreat them not to use scorn and invective, and rash, impetuous assertions, if they think that the imperious necessities of reason lead them to a denial of those supreme truths of the existence of a Personal God, and the continuance of Life after Death, which have for many Christian generations soothed the bed of suffering, and lightened the darkness of death with a radiance not of earth. If we are content to admit the striking confession of Aristotle at the beginning of his Ethics, that, in case private feeling and

[g] Analogy, Pt. ii. ch. 3.

[h] See some admirable remarks on this head in a University Sermon by Dean Church. "Human Life and its Conditions." Sermon III. (1878).

truth come into collision, it is a sacred duty to give the preference to truth, yet at least let us treat these private feelings with tenderness. It is a terrible sacrifice to which Atheism calls a Christian: it leaves life for him a hopeless blank. Next, let theologians avoid the disastrous and mischievous error of attributing evil motives to Scientific men, who imagine that their conclusions are probably hostile to the assertions of Theology. The sledge-hammer style of controversy never has done any good, and never will do any good in the world. When lavish abuse is poured upon scientific men by theologians, or upon theologians by scientific men (and both these habits are far too common), one calls to mind the eloquent and noble words of Castellio, when, because he could not agree with Calvin on the subjects of Predestination and Christ's descent into hell, he was assailed by him with every term of reproach: "*Non semper pendebit inter latrones Christus: Resurget aliquando crucifixa Veritas*[i]." Theologians must have real sympathy. They must recognise the fact, that there are grave intellectual difficulties which perplex thinking men, and they must argue them out patiently, calmly, and upon the strength of some adequate acquaintance with the subjects in hand. Nothing is more offensive than to hear a young curate, who knows absolutely nothing of either the elementary facts, or the higher philosophy of Science, get up in the pulpit and assail modern Science by unverified assertions and ignorant abuse: he only alienates the more sensible laity. There are not wanting for our imitation noble examples of the true tone of controversy. They will recognise this who have ever read Professor Westcott's "Discussion on the Relation of Christianity to the Positive Philosophy," or some of the papers of Archdeacon Reichel read at Church Congresses[k]. If Theology will begin with such a moral equipment, she need not fear to advance boldly, and without risk

[i] Quoted in Laurence's "Bampton Lectures;" Notes, p. 244.

[k] I might have added to these examples, if it had not been that I might have been suspected of being prejudiced by a life-long personal friendship, Mr. Eaton's "Bampton Lectures" (1872), on "The Permanence of Christianity."

of defeat, into the discussion of such problems as have been reserved for our generation—Evolution, Natural Selection, the Persistence of Force, the Immutability of Laws. It will be the noblest achievement of our age if a School of Theologians could be found who would effect the reconciliation of Science and Theology, which, by faults of temper and intellect on both sides, have been made foes instead of friends.

Literary men, too, discuss freely the critical questions of Theology. In the opinion of one popular writer, who bears, both in his own right and in his hereditary right, a great Oxford reputation, Literature has dissolved Dogma. "The old notions about the books of the Bible must be abandoned. Modern criticism is so keen-sighted and intuitive in its analysis, that it can detect the scanty original elements of the Gospels, and reject the remainder, as only the very questionable assertions of some later redactors; nobody till our day has ever rightly understood the meaning of St. Paul when he spoke of redemption or righteousness; the Israelites did not believe in a Personal Good, but in a something not ourselves making for righteousness; the secret of Jesus has now at length been discovered." Theologians, I imagine, are not disposed to accept these results, because they seem to them to lack what modern inductive science demands as a criticism of truth,—verification. But they ought to be prepared to admit that many popular notions of the Books of the Bible have been vague and erroneous. They ought to allow more weight than they have done in former times to that peculiarity of the Bible, which is nowhere more pointedly or briefly intimated than in the first verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that it was written, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, "in many parts and in many modes;" they must discuss the literary problems connected with the origin of the Gospels, and of the Epistles of the New Testament, as well as those affecting the Old Testament. Theologians, at least those of the Church of England, are not, as is sometimes cast in their teeth, precluded by their very position from entering upon most of these questions. No Creed or Article binds them to hold as *de fide*

that Isaiah or Zechariah was all written by one prophetical author, or that the Acts of the Apostles does not embody prior documents, or that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul, or that an inspired author cannot have made a mistake in history. These literary problems, especially those connected with the New Testament, press for discussion and laborious investigation. All honour to living theologians, like Professor Lightfoot, of Cambridge, and Mr. Sanday, of Oxford and Durham, who have devoted hard and minute study to these obscure researches, where the data are so few, and the evidence so intricate. They are not to be tabooed and excommunicated by those whose minds are happily not troubled by the raising of such problems, or by those who endow their own traditional view of the Bible with the attribute of infallibility. In the light of all the fresh fragments of early Christian literature which have been discovered, and of the elaborate collations of MSS. by scholars, that may be true of Biblical Exegesis which Lord Bacon said originally of all Science:—

"Artem inveniendi cum inventis ipsis adolescere posse statuere debemus[1]."

Theology has a great and glorious opportunity before it, if it can convince this generation that the grand truths of which it treats are not barren speculations, belonging only to the curious intellect, or to antiquarian research, but that they lie at the very foundation of the moral life of man. Theology may lift men up into "an ampler æther, a diviner air," if it succeeds in teaching them that the supreme questions of its investigations are not controversies of Church government as between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, nor of Church ceremonial, nor of the limits of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, nor of the exact relations of faith and works, nor of the right definitions of conversion and election; but rather the belief that we men have a Father in heaven, and a Divinely-human Saviour and object of worship in Jesus Christ, and a sanctifying presence within us in the Holy Spirit. Theology will vindicate its just claims

[1] Nov. Org., i. 130.

to respect alike from the clergyman and the layman, if it shews itself capable of being translated into life and practice; if it interprets for us the facts of the moral universe; if, by its light, it can rescue us from the utter darkness of a despairing pessimism; if, rejecting the false adage that ignorance is the mother of devotion, it can assert that it is the truth and the truth only which can make men at once free and holy; if it can shew itself as the parent of a religion which is manly, truthful, pure, and fearless, equal to bear the strain of life as well as of death. If this high enterprise can be achieved, then, notwithstanding the vast multiplicity of the new Sciences which modern civilization has called into existence, Theology may still assert her proud and ancient title as the Queen and Mistress of all the Sciences.

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